

Strategy and Tactics of the ANC 2017

Enhancing organisational integrity
and intensifying action - Towards a
national democratic society

INTRO

- Framework for all other positions, policy documents
- New name because state of ANC has become key strategic factor
- Much not changed since 2007 – the kind of society we want, our goals – National Democratic Society, our economy, broad position of black people, workers and women.
- Contradictions – on one hand globalisation, neo liberalism weaker, global collapse and declining legitimacy of global and business elite
- Global progressive forces also weak – some coopted into the thinking of neo liberalism, populism rising, distrust in government
- SA important in global society facing most acute manifestations of oppression based on class, race, gender, geographic location. What we do important for the whole progressive global struggle
- Made progress towards National Democratic Society but objective (externally caused) and subjective (internal) weaknesses. But main challenges we face are renewal of organisation to lead society, and more rapid transformation

HISTORY



- History summary covers where we come from and includes pre-colonial times, and colonisation, apartheid and road to democracy, and again defines SA as “colonialism of a special type” because colonists permanently settled here and became part of population
- Analyses 1990’s and says we were not victims of negotiations. Our constitution very progressive - generations of human rights and social rights, strong democratic institutions (all proposed by ANC) – were not compromises we struck. Compromises were “sunset clauses” about transition that guaranteed employment for current public servants for 5 years and set up Government of National Unity
- Resulted in powerful majority rule - not a compromise.
- But to reach our goals we also need political will and strong capacity on the part of those that drive transformation, and the right balance of forces for and against our programme of transformation

13 CHARACTER OF NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION (NDR) AND SOCIETY

- **GOAL** of the NDR: to build a non-racial, non-sexist, united, democratic and more prosperous nation.
- Our vision of a national democratic society : democracy with a social content, defined as a ***developmental state*** with most ***progressive elements of social democracy***
- ***Developmental state***: is a capable state that (1) steers economic development and (2) mobilises all the resources in the country for the development of the people.
- ***Social democracy is the*** closest ideology to our positions: it is based on human rights, dignity and equality of all people, wants to build a society free from exploitation and discrimination, with equal opportunities for all, and a caring state that looks after the vulnerable
- Stays similar to 2007 as our objectives have not changed, but more emphasis on need to resolve the conflicts and inequalities of the past that still affect us today: class super exploitation, racial discrimination and patriarchy (system of male domination)

14 **CHANGING DOMESTIC BALANCE OF FORCES (between supporters and opponents of our goals)**



- Carefully nursed transition in 1990s, avoided civil war and business leaving. Managed to make great changes. Resistance to change: right wing sabotage, NP left GNU, investors threats to withdraw
- Economy inherited remained dominated by capital - mainly white 1996 new finance minister, rand lost 20%, adopted GEAR to build confidence and stabilise economy. Critiqued as not dealing with inequality, but stabilised economy and increase economic growth
- By 2000 had increased experience, post GEAR period, making progress to NDS. Held back by economy not able to overcome weaknesses of skills, infrastructure, competitiveness, ownership.
- Created jobs for more skilled workers, but shrinking mine, farm and manufacturing jobs, inequality between rich and poor worse. Women legal equality but power of patriarchy in family and society still strong
- Mid 2000's ANC enjoyed unchallenged legitimacy and popular support (69% in 2004), economy growing fast. Massive service delivery. Budget surplus. Balance of forces favour forces of change.

BALANCE OF FORCES

- Did we take enough advantage of positive BoF? Capacity?
- Could not take full advantage of political power because our reading of balance of forces too modest, and liberation movement started being gripped by negative tendencies, 2005 on, factionalism, fighting among ourselves for power became main mission of many cadres
- NOW: many of the weaknesses have worsened in economy and in ANC, global increase in populism, anti-political elites.
- Government debt + economic crisis, new programmes hard to fund
- SA low savings for economic development, need foreign investment to create jobs. SOEs drain rather than tool of development
- Helpless before international credit agencies who decide interest rate we borrow at based on risk to profits of investors. Also influence future investors. Low status result of of our weaknesses, instability
- Political liberation has brought change but the essence of unequal apartheid colonial social relations remains. Have political liberation but have not achieved social and economic liberation

SECOND PHASE OF THE TRANSITION TO NDS AND THE NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN (NDP)



- Need for economic liberation, “second phase of transition” in 2012
- Important that NDP was adopted by both parliament and ANC - it binds all sectors in SA together in a developmental vision for a more equal society with low unemployment and poverty levels.
- But economic and internal weaknesses holding us back from achieving 2030 vision. Great opportunity/possibility for broad agreement and changed balance of forces, exactly now Alliance and government weakest since 1994. Identify and deal with weakness
- Weakness demonstrated by declining vote (69% in 2004 to 54% in 2016), internal squabbles, money politics, corruption, decline and splits in trade union movement, lack of capacity in state to implement
- Instead of being centre for driving transformation, we are having to be directed by courts and others to do right thing. Lost moral standing
- Can argue this is normal after 20 yrs. But future is in own hands, power depends on correcting weaknesses and delivery to voters

CAN WE ARGUE THAT THE PROGRESS WE HAVE MADE IN NDR IS IRREVERSIBLE? ROLE OF MOTIVE FORCES



- **Motive forces:** those who will benefit from change and therefore drive and support the process of change. Remain same : workers, rural and urban poor, black people (including Indians and coloureds, but Africans in particular), black middle class, black professionals and business, women and youth. But their actions differ.
- Challenge that many are losing confidence in ANC as bringer of change. They haven't abandoned self interest and will continue to fight for change . But other parties are capitalising on our weakness in uniting and delivering to them, and are appealing to their interests.
- We believe that mass of our people will not allow counter revolution and reversal of NDR. But by what they do or not do, they can cause election loss and undermining of NDR.
- Metros where we have lost 4 of 8, already show this – stay away of African voters. Taken over by DA with programmes that reverse opportunity creation in townships. Undermine programme of change
- NDR is therefore reversible

ANALYSIS OF MOTIVE FORCES TODAY

Mainly as in past for black workers and rural and urban poor, but:

- Workers: divided unions, fewer members, critical of corruption
- Black middle class: High expectations of ANC. Benefitted from change, struggling financially, insecure, fear of failing, first generation middle class, care for many poor members of extended family, unable to build wealth. Behaviour influenced by more than service delivery (that mostly targets poor). Need opportunities, secure path out of poverty for family – good education. Critical ANC
- Similar among youth – need work and study opportunities: impatient
- Many black business + professionals depend on state + white owned business to survive – low entrepreneurship, risk-taking culture
- Many whites embrace NDP and constitution, but voting trends show they will not yet identify with revolutionaries and vote for us
- Monopoly capital (global and national): relationship one of unity and struggle, cooperation and contestation. Need to challenge them to transform, but need their investment - growth, jobs in our economy.

THE ROLE OF ANC

- **ANC disciplined force of left**, also broad church, led by working class. Avoids adventurism (*to try out untested and poorly researched programmes*) and populism (*to make short-term policies just to get votes ,or please loudest voices in society*).
- **ANC remains strategic centre** of power for all cadres in Leagues and Alliance – need to introduce new debate in light of recent experience. Find balance between formal and informal relationships, minimum programmes of unity, and constructive disagreement. Many trade unions left COSATU, we can debate why, but they all are progressive unions. How do we relate to them?
- **Progressive civil society** – we need to earn leadership through participation and activism and building partnerships
- **Rule of law:** The ANC works within a law-governed society. Mothers and fathers of democracy, deliberately designed the Constitution to place limits on the exercise of state power. In seeking to give leadership to society, the ANC understands that this must be done within the limits of the law. This is in the immediate and long-term interest of the ANC, government and society, anarchy is alternative.

ANC WEAKNESSES IN MEETING CHALLENGES

- Social distance, corruption, nepotism, arrogance, elitism, factionalism, manipulating organisational processes, abusing state power, putting self interest above the people, used to be exceptions, now this negative conduct is common. Even strongest ANC supporters agree the “sins of incumbency” are deeply entrenched
- Our weaknesses caused splinters in past: UDM, COPE, EFF all broke from ANC. Some of our natural allies SACC, veterans of ANC, Unions, now uniting outside ANC, in opposition to our behaviour.
- Seen as opposite to “leader of society” – people losing respect for our morality (perceived as self-serving, corrupt, looting, “state capture”, disregard for Constitution) and lost trust in organisational integrity (membership + vote buying, factions, using state institutions against each other, even killings)
- Revolution is endangered most seriously by our own actions.
- Need an uncompromising fight against these negative and unacceptable practices if we are to save ourselves and stay true to our goals and mission

HOW DO WE CORRECT THIS?

- ANC must improve visionary and policy integrity, merge theory and practice – stick to and implement our Vision for SA and Africa
- Restore integrity of managing leadership and membership – collective authority exercised over leaders and members.
- Members cannot continue ill-discipline without consequences. Monitor implementation of policies, act strongly against ill-discipline
- Leadership integrity – must represent motive forces, now an elite bubble – NEC MPs, Ministers, Premiers, accounting to themselves
- Ensure leadership reflects people from religious and trade union movements, and other structures of civil society
- Integrity of membership system and systems for young people to rise and move within the movement. YL is not entry point for broad motive forces – e.g. young workers, students
- These interventions must enhance organisational integrity of ANC.
- Courage and decisiveness needed by conference to take decisions to restore our integrity

TRANSITION TO SECOND PHASE - RADICAL?

- Radical economic transformation: rapid transformation of economy and society to overcome poverty, unemployment, inequalities and ownership patterns of past.
- No new, big surprises – the whole NDR with the social, political and economic change we want, is a radical revolutionary undertaking.
- Radical transformation needs implementation of ANC policies
Weakness has been inability to implement policies and programmes to the quality needed to transform our society and economy.
Economic transformation not elite project replacing white exploiters with black – e.g.. share profit and shares in companies with workers
- NDP not our **only** ideas – useful platform for social compact with all.
- Social needs must be met effectively: key focus education, health
- Build social cohesion and focus on increased safety, security for all
- Strengthen access to rights and protection by the Constitution (our contract with citizens), and the legitimacy of all arms of government

PILLARS OF STRUGGLE, FOCUS OF OUR ACTION:



- **The economy** – need inclusive growth driven by investment, infrastructure and skills development, transformation of ownership
- **The state** – must achieve higher economic growth and better implementation of radical development programmes that improve the lives of our people. Need activist state with right capacity, and democratic state with strong oversight and citizen participation
- **Organisational work** - to build a united, strong ANC accepted as leader of society and servant of the people, and able to mobilise the motive forces to support transformation and development
- **Ideological struggle** – win battle of ideas to build support for NDR through making coherent and persuasive contributions in media and public debate, and through building social cohesion, support for NDP
- **International work** – to fight for a just and more equal world order (as a force of the left). To develop trade and good relationships to benefit our economy and our people, with developed and developing countries and the rest of Africa.

CONCLUSION

- Captured beach head, made many changes, but face great challenges internally and externally
- Opportunity and danger intermingle and we can rise to challenges or be derailed
- Social agency (organised action) is key to unlock higher forms of human civilisation